1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Tepeyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoacan. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they entered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been constructed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern causeway. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight and these simple methods for getting fresh water and disposing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifications, and formal military architecture was rare. The temples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points; indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 by the maturer warriors. A tribesman had the right to elaborate his dress in accordance with his prowess, and the great chiefs wore attached to their backs immense frames covered with feathers. Tribes, and even clans, wore special insignia, so that friend could be distinguished from foe and chief from common warrior. The term uniform could hardly be used, since the rich variety and indulgence in individual fancy produced a kaleidoscopic effect in the motley array of bright colors and strange forms.[8]

712 To supply these forces was a very considerable task. Each quarter of the town had its *tlacochcalco,* or house of darts, an arsenal where the military supplies were stored. This was situated near the chief temple, the lofty sides of which made it a natural strong point. At a call to arms the clan leaders could rapidly assemble their men and equip them at these rallying points, which were also centers of the religious and social life of the community.[9]

724 An offensive campaign was a more serious undertaking. Having no beasts of burden, the warriors had to carry their own food with them. Due to the governmental system, wherein each town was independent, the armies did not dare live off the country for fear of inciting revolt and also because most communities lacked the food to sustain a large body of men. Thus, prior to a war, negotiations had to be made whereby supplies could be concentrated and allies brought together at a point as near as possible to the zone of attack. Usually a single battle decided the issue, since the [726] attacking force could not maintain itself in the field for more than a very few days. The calculations necessary to fight a war two or three hundred miles away in Oaxaca, say, were highly complex, and much of the Aztec force on such a cam-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

paign must have been composed of local tribesmen, stiffened with a *garde d'élite* of Tenochcas and Texcocans.

Owing to this difficulty in respect to transport, siege operations were virtually impossible, so that formal fortifications were rare. Some towns were built in very strategic locations, high on a mountainside or in the bend of a river, having access restricted to a narrow neck of land. Tenochtitlan, owing to its situation on the lake, was a natural fort. The causeways were penetrated by canals at intervals, so that removal of the portable bridges created natural barriers. The flat roof tops offered good points from which to harry the enemy in the street below, and the many temples were strong points difficult to reduce. (See Plate 37, top.)

Miles of defensive walls surrounded a site in Tlaxcala, where a ditch backed by a wall enclosed an area of several square miles. At Huexotla,* a fief of Texcoco, a wall at least fifteen feet high still exists and must have had a strong defensive value, although its ostensible purpose was to enclose the area about the main temple. Xochicalco† is situated on a high hill which was intensively terraced, and it was further strengthened by a wide ditch cut through the point of easiest access. Sometimes a site was chosen between two ravines which made impassable obstacles to an attacking force. However, while defensive *purposes* were often taken into account in building towns, strictly defensive *works*, in the nature of fortifications, were seldom undertaken.[10]

Open fighting, the difficulty of keeping up extended campaigns and the informal character of the military force were factors which stultified the development of tactics or strategy. In battle the howling mob which represented the collective

*Way-sho'-cla. †Sho-chi-ca'l-co.

Atempan.

Atempan: here they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "Human Banners." And when they had gathered them together, thereupon they carried them in procession; they carried them upon litters.

And when they had carried them in procession, then they dispersed them. Perchance they left them at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhquemc.

Atempan.

In atempan, vncan quintecpichoaia in tlacateuhti: auh in jquac in oquintecpichoque: njman ye ic quintlaiacalochtia, quintlapechvia. 796^ 346

Auh in jquac oquimontlaiacalochtique: njman ye ic quimocaca, aço atlitic tepetzinco quimoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhquemc ijcpac.

Tencacoac Tlacochcalco.

Tencacoac Tlacochcalco. When there were very many captives, sometimes they were slain here. And here were kept the spears and the arrows to be used in conquests.

Tencacoac tlacochcalco

In tencacoac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, jquac in cenca mjec malli: yoan vncan mopixia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya. [712]

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli.

Acatl Yiacapan Uei Calpulli: here they gathered together [the slaves] for the Tlaloca. And when they had assembled them all, then they here slew them.

And when they had slain them, then here they cut them in pieces, and cooked them; they put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the nobility, and all the important men ate [the stew]; but not the common folk—only the leaders.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan quicenquixtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oquicenquixtique, njman vncan quinmictiaia: [561]

auh in jquac in oquimonmjctique, njman vncan quintetequja, yoan quinpoaacia, caioauchcpojlhuja in jnacaio. [266]

Auh ya jquac oquinpoaaque: njman quiquaia in pipilti, in jtlquich tecutlaxoque: amono ichoantin in macoxaki, ça ychoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

Techielli: here were placed fir branches.[13]

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acxoxtemaloia.

The Tribal Temple.

All the small houses which stood around the temples were called *calpulli*. Here men fasted.

And only the noblemen, the leading men, these who instructed noblemen's sons in war, the chieftains, here fasted, every twenty days.

[Of this,] it was said: "All men fast five days."

And when the fasting took place, five days hence

Calpulli.

In ie nuchi cahoxexti in tlaiacalotoc, inan quiiacalouc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan neçaoloia: 796^ 346 785

auh çan ichoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcacauhti, tepnjoaque vncan moçavaia, compocaltica,

mjtoaia: nemacujlçoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc ieh macujlilhujtl quj-

13. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún says that they gathered reeds (*cañas*).

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had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list.

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c] [712]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d] [712]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan [648]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese zeme en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espunable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimocuarto Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gurra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchiitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

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635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[m] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[n]

[712] Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ᵛ) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[o] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[p]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[q] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]
[263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[m] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[n] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[o] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[p] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[q] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula*, were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amaçuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlaçhco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Xiotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

● [712] *Quauhnahuac*. That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, assi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

633 *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

712 *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[3]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecuma."[4] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[5]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[6]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[7]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[8] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[2] *GPM*, p. 9; *ENE*, 14: 79.

[3] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[4] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec "... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), I: 320.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, [175] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[28]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[29]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[30] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[31]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino*, among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[32] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[33] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 large mantles[34]

[28] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juº cuescomatepeque de la juriadizion de guaxuxco." Domínguez (*Cuescomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[29] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[30] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[31] Domínguez, *Cuescomatepec de Bravo: I* (1543), pp. 17 and 56.

[32] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 156.

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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It appears in De Mo-
632 *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[a] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[b] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[c] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[d] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[e]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
●712 show.[f] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[g]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[h] The chief language of the

[a] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[b] *Cortés, Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerías ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[c] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[d] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[e] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[f] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[g] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecian al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

[i.e., Chinantla – Analyst]

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18r) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[b]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[b]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[b]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[c]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[d]

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[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.

[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81 [illegible] as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.

[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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632 [713] *Ayoxochiquilazala* seems to have been the anchor of the Empire in this region. A local Mexican garrison consumed all the tribute, which never reached Mexico.[19]

Ehuacalco, suggests Troncoso,[20] may be the Calihualá [Cal-eual-lan] of today. The proposed identification seems reasonable.

Patlanalan is a name which apparently survives only in documents. The town was subject to Tonalá (a) and was half a league from "Çilacajoapa."[21]

Piaztla was probably "Old Piaztlan" (Huehuepiaztlan), which lay to the west of the site of the modern town. Among the towns subject to Piaztla in 1581—and probably also linked with it in 1519—were Tuzantlan (c) and Ilamatzinco (b). These appear on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, 1908.

632 131

Yxicayan became "Xicayan de Tovar" in colonial days.[22] It confined with Puctla and Tlacomayztlauaca,[23] which are the Putla Santa Maria and Tecomaxtlahuacan of today. Xicayan de Tovar was nine leagues southwest of "Instlauaca" (Juxtlahuaca)[24] and four leagues in the same direction from Ayoxochiquilazala.[25] Northeast of the ancient Acuitlapan, Guerrero, are a C. Jicayan and a R. Jicayan which indicate the site. It should be pointed out that the Jicayán of today (near Tlacamama), also existing in the sixteenth century,[26] is a quite different pueblo.

Ycpatepec, which enjoyed a certain pre-Hispanic fame, may be located by piecing together a variety of references. Though it is described in the relación of Cuauhuitlan along with towns of the modern district of Jamiltepec on the Oaxaca coast, it is stated to be no less than thirty-five leagues to the northeast of those towns,[27] beyond a sierra, in the Mixteca Baja.[28] Elsewhere it is given as ten leagues from Mixtepec

[19] See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
[20] *PNE*, 5: 238.
[21] *PNE*, 5: 238; *GPM*, p. 20. Its estancias were called Guastepec and Santa Clara.
[22] *PNE*, 1: No. 810; *GPM*, p. 65; *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[23] *PNE*, 1: No. 810.
[24] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137.
[25] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[26] *PNE*, 1: No. 808.
[27] *PNE*, 4: 158.
[28] *PNE*, 4: 155: "muy apartado [de Cuahuitlan] porque cae en la provincia de la Mixteca Baja." Its encomendero was Francisco de Alfaro.

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635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[a]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[b]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[c]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[d]

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[a] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1:75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[b] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[c] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5:59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[88] 632

Huitzannola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[89]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[90] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[91] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast. 632 712 [101]

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[92] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo. 632 131

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red ..."[93] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[94] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla- 101 197

[88] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[89] *GPM*, p. 106.

[90] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[91] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[92] *GPM*, p. 98.

[93] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Náhuatl.

[94] *GPM*, p. 27.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcolula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12	Malinaltepec, 10
Chila, 2	Papaloticpac, 8
Icxitlan, 3	Petlaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atlatlaucca was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[78] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Coayxtlahuacan was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[79]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[78] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llamauan 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[79] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

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paying tribute, but "the lords of Chila, when it pleased them to," ex- 632
changed presents with Moctezuma.[80]

Icxitlan was a subject town which gave no tribute beyond feeding the highland troops that passed through it.[81]

Malinaltepec (10) sent its tribute to Coayxtlahuacan.[82] This Malinal- [131]
tepec, which is stated to lie eight leagues northeast of Atlatlaucca and five leagues west of "los Yolos" [Yoloxonecuilan], appears on Bevan's map.[83] It should not be confused with the nearest of several homonyms, that is, with the Malinaltepec southwest of Atlatlaucca.

Mictlan, as Jiménez Moreno has pointed out,[84] must be the present Mitlatongo.

Papaloticpac paid tribute to its cacique, and he to Moctezuma;[85] probably the Papalotiquipaque of the sixteenth century[86] is one of two towns called Papalo today, southeast of Quiotepec.

Petlaltzinco, like Icxitlan, paid its tribute by supplying the armies of the Empire with food and men.[87]

Tepeucila had been subjected by Moctezuma shortly before the Spaniards arrived.[88]

Xaltepec appears on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Yancuitlan may be found on the 1912 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Çoçolan was conquered by the younger Moctezuma, as will be de- [712]
tailed in the second part of this work. It is mentioned as a garrison town on folio 17[r] of the *Mendocino,* with two governors—a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli" (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

[80] *PNE,* 5: 66: "era subjeto al ymperio de la ciudad de México ... embialle [a Moctezuma] los senores de Chila, quando les agradaua, algunos presentes de joyas de oro y mantas," etc.

[81] *PNE,* 5: 75.

[82] See Atlatlaucca, above.

[83] Bevan, *The Chinantec* (1938).

[84] *Códice de Yanhuitlán* (1940).

[85] *PNE,* 4: 90: "tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma ... que llevavan a las guarniciones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra."

[86] *PNE,* 4: 88.

[87] "El dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo pasauan bastimentos, y asi mismo servian con alguna gente de guerra, y no otra cosa alguna" (*PNE,* 5: 70).

[88] *PNE,* 4: 95: "Al tienpo que vinieron los españoles era Señor natural de este pueblo vn cazique que se dezia canchuchu camiñaz, y en tienpo de este los sujeto Monteçuma."

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632 [712] *Eztetlan* was near the modern Tepantepec.[346]

Guaxacac (as Huaxac[ac]) is one of the garrison towns mentioned on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (cf. chap. viii, no. 37) as being governed by a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli." The fortress was actually located on the Cerro del Fortin (Acatepec or Ecatepec), according to the "Relación de Cuilapa" (*Tlalocan* [1945], 2:20).

Huiztepec and certain neighboring towns together paid tribute to Moctezuma.

Itzquintepec was a town the identification of which involves the whole question of the "pueblos peñoles." Probably we may identify it with the modern town of Peñoles.

Iztepexi recalled in the 1580's that "certain Mexica" had overcome them, whereupon they paid double tribute, as the Mixtec also exploited them.[347]

Macuilxochic remembered only being subject to Teozapotlan,[348] but figures along with the rest of the Empire in the *Matricula*.

Mictlan (28), since it was subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to the Mexica.[349]

Ocelotepec was a town the inhabitants of which "anciently had Moctezuma, lord of Mexico, as their lord."[350]

Quauxiloticpac, now Huajoloticpac, is derived from "quauxilotl"

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[345] A collective relación which includes this and the two following pueblos exists (*RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 185–191). Six pueblos in all are listed, in this order: Itzquintepec, Eztetla, Quauxoloticpac [*sic*], Huictepec [*sic*], Totomachapa, and Jilotepec, "los quales estan como aqui van puestos uno en pos de otro y corren norte sur." Now three of these appear on any map: No. 3, Quaxoloticpac (11 leagues from Antequera or Oaxaca City), is Huajolotipac; No. 4, Huiztepec (12 leagues from Antequera), is Huitepec; and No. 6, Jilotepec (17 leagues from Antequera and defined as "çerro al modo de una mazorca de maiz"), is Elotepec. In view of these three fixed points, Itzquintepec (6 leagues from Antequera and 9 leagues from Teotzacualco) is most likely the modern Peñoles. Eztetla (lying between Itzquintepec and Quauxoloticpac and 7 leagues from Teotzacualco) should fall somewhere near modern Tepantepec. And, finally, Totomachapa (like Jilotepec, 10 leagues from Zola) is perhaps the modern Yucucando. (Totomachapa was 8 leagues from Teotzacualco, and Jilotepec only 6.) All these six pueblos peñoles "Jueron ... en tiempo de su jentilidad de monteçuma señor de mexico al qual tributaban oro y mantas de algodon."

[346] *PNE*, 4:16: "ciertos mexicanos los subjetaron por mandado del Señor de Mexico ... enpeçaron a tributarles asi a los mexicanc . questauan en Guaxaca por Monteçuma, y a los mistecos por el señorio que sobrellos tenian, temiendose de los unos y de los otros ... ."

[347] *PNE*, 4:102: "El gobierno que tenian hera lo que les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... ." See Teozapotlan, below.

[348] *PNE*, 4:111. See Teozapotlan, below.

[349] *PNE*, 4:138: "en su antigüedad tenyan por senor a Monteçuma, señor de Mexico ... ."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[126] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[127]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[128]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[126] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[127] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[128] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier.[283] 651 632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[284]

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.[285]

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves.[286] [567]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison.[287] [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.[288]

Tlacolula gave military service only.[289]

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.[290]

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[291]

Xilotepec, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.[292]

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[283] See Itzquintepec, above.

[284] *PNE*, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Motecçuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, ques vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos páiaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

[285] *PNE*, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

[286] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frizoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

[287] *PNE*, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

[288] *PNE*, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

[289] *PNE*, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

[290] See n. 105 above.

[291] See n. 105 above.

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fold: we have a list of certain garrison towns with their governors—the framework of the Empire—and we have a list of those towns near Tenochtitlan of which no mention is made in the long series of tribute pages. (Even here, however, only the towns are listed, and not their tribute.)

Frontier garrison towns mentioned with Çitlaltepec.—Page 2 of the *Matricula* is divided in two by a horizontal line, and the upper half is subdivided by a vertical line, three divisions resulting. In the upper left appears a glyph of a box filled with water. The *Mendocino* identifies it as Atzacan (unlocated). Beside it is a nopal, which is identified in both manuscripts as Xoconochco (Soconusco). Below are two towns which lay close together in the northern extreme of Puebla (see chap. iv, pp. 61–62): Atlan and Teçapotitlan (also identified in both manuscripts).

Glyphs representing the four garrison towns appear on folio 18ʳ of the *Mendocino,* accompanied by the comment that these towns and certain others had special governors "porque no se rrebelasen." To this group the *Mendocino* adds a town glyph from the preceding page of the *Matricula:* Oztoma, the great Guerrero fortress on the Tarascan frontier.

Page 1 of the *Matricula* is badly effaced, but we can recognize the remnants of four town glyphs: Oztoma, in the lower left-hand corner (copied out of place in the *Mendocino,* as noted above); and three others (*Mendocino* copy, fol. 17ᵛ), Poctepec (lower right, unlocated) and, identifiable with the two remaining tepetl-glyphs of the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ᵛ), Huaxac[ac] (Guaxacac) and Çoçolan in the upper part of the drawing.

This is all the *Matricula* tells us. Probably a whole sheaf of pages is lost from the beginning of this remarkable manuscript: a section referring chiefly to the conquests of the Tenochca and their allies, which we know only through the *Mendocino* (sec. 1). In the present case, however, we need not lament the lack of further information, for we have it—though certainly rearranged—in the copy (e.g., Oztoma).

Three other glyphs of key towns in various parts of the Empire appear in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 17ᵛ, in the upper center, upper right corner, and right margin center respectively: Quauhtochco

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located;
[128] and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen on the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que sienpre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

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him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need.

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,[1] and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders.

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

[1] Mechuacan in the text.

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Umbria said that not far from Mexico there were large towns occupied by cultured people, and it seems that they must have been the towns belonging to that relation of Montezuma, and there was another province named Matalzingo. From what we saw and inferred, Umbria and his companions came back enriched with plenty of gold and well provided for, and it was for this purpose that Cortés had sent him, so as to make a friend of him, on account of what had happened in the past, which I have already spoken about. 648

Let us leave this man who came back with a good profit, and turn to Captain Diego de Ordás who went to see the river of Coatzacoalcos, which is one hundred and twenty leagues distant from Mexico. He said that he passed through very large towns which he named, where all the people paid respect to him, and that on the road near to Coatzacoalcos he came on Montezuma's garrisons on the frontier, and all the neighbourhood complained of them, on account of the robberies they committed, and because they carried off their women and demanded other tribute. Ordás and the Mexican Chieftains who were with him reprimanded Montezuma's Captains who had charge of these troops and threatened that if they committed any more robberies that they would tell their Lord Montezuma, and he would send for them and punish them as he had punished Quetsalpopoca and his companions for robbing the towns of our friends, and at these speeches they were frightened. Then Ordás continued his journey to Coatzacoalcos, and he took only one Mexican chieftain with him. As soon as the Cacique of that province who was named Tochel knew that he was coming, he sent his chieftains to receive him and showed him much good will, for all the people of that province had heard stories and reports of us and knew about us from the time when we came on the voyage of discovery with Juan de Grijalva, as I have written at length in a former [651 712].

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701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain [648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

● 712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlixochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. [643] Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 580.) The capture of Montezuma did not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia [651] says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

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sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlatilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al atro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 259 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

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public storehouses connected with the temples of each tribal subdivision.[28]

The name given to these public store-houses was "houses of darts" (tlacochcalco).[29] They were, probably, not limited to the immediate vicinity of the chief temple, but each subdivision of the pueblo had its "house of darts" as well as its central "teocalli."[30] The following description of an aboriginal Mexican "pueblo," furnished by a missionary who arrived in New-Spain as early as

[28] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121. Immediately preceding the foray against Xoconochco, "each day the youth went to the quarters, to practise at the school of arms, "telpuchcalco . . . . " *Idem*, cap. LXXVIII, p. 134). The *Anonymous Conquèror*, whose relation is contained in vol. I of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos." both in the original Italian taken from Ramusio ("Relatione di alcune cose della Nuova "Spagna, & Della Gran Citta di Temestitan Messico, fatta per uno Gentil' homo del "Signor Fernando Cortese"), and in the Spanish translation by the distinguished Mexican scholar, says (p. 394, "Dei tempii, é Meschite che havevano"): "Before they left "(for war), they all went to the principal *mosque* ("meschita maggiore"—main teocalli) "and provided themselves with the arms stored over the main entrances" (of the square around the temple). We have few positive indications as to the true situation of the store-houses, beyond that they were probably connected with the "school, houses" ("telpuchcalco"), and therefore with the temples. Torquemada, who gives an elaborate description of the chief temple of Mexico (Lib. VIII, of 2d volume), says (Cap. XI, p. 146): "and at each one of the four entrances to the court of the temple "there was an extensive (very large) hall, connected with numerous rooms and closets, "high as well as low, which served as houses of arms, where these were kept together "with the ammunition. For, as they regarded the temples as their strongest places, "and their retreats in case of danger, they held there their arms and means of defence." He further mentions, under the uncouth name of "Tlacochcalcoacatlyacapan," "an- "other hall . . . . Here they kept a quantity of arrows (or darts, 'saetas') which "were made every year, and there deposited until wanted." See also Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVII). Gomara (Vedia, I. "El templo de Méjico," p. 349). "At each door (of "the four) of the court of the principal temple there was a large hall surrounded by "high and low additions. These were filled with arms, like public and communal "houses, for the temples were the strongholds of each pueblo, and therefore contained "the arms and ammunition." Of course the square of the great "teocalli" of Mexico attracted principal attention.

[29] "Tlacochalco," or "Tlacochcalli," derives from "tlacochtli," dart, and "calli," house.

[30] Every author concedes that there were several "houses of arms" at Mexico. Bernal-Diez says there were two (Cap. XCI, p. 87, of vol. II, Vedia). Gomara ("Casas de armas," Vedia, I, p. 345) says: "Montezuma had some (rather 'several' 'algunas') houses of arms, whose blazon were a bow and two quivers over each door." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 186) says; "he had, not one, but many houses for the "keeping and storage of arms;" (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 197) he copies almost textually Gomara's statement about the halls over the entrances of the court to the temple of Mexico, and adds also, like Gomara, "porque los templos, aliende de que "servian de casas de Oracion, eran las Fortaleças con que en tiempo de Guerra mas se "defendian, i tenian en ellos la municion, i Almacen." Previously he says (p. 196): "There were many temples in Mexico; according to the parishes, or quarters, of which "there were many." See also Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 188): "porque tenian "muchas casas de varas con sus puntas de pedernal, etc., etc." It shows that the storehouses *were distributed over the pueblo, and not only limited to the main temple.* Cortés, when he burnt Quauhpopoca, emptied for that purpose the arsenals of the main

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712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over
361 "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great "quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places "it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of "which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking "towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at "the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples, "they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and "three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness "from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and "the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to "the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content "himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in "each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were "other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes "three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are
421 often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (500 cartloads, says Tapia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX, p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello mui aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"ters (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

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Even ornaments and dresses were also preserved at some of those places.[33]

We may divide the *armament* of the Mexicans into weapons for offence and defensive armour for protection.

Among the offensive arms the *missiles* occupy the principal place, as we may infer from the general mode of Indian warfare, which consists in striking an enemy, if possible, from a distance, and with as little risk to the assailant as possible, too. *Darts* or *javelins*, *bows* and *arrows*, *slings* and *stones*, were therefore of primary importance to the Mexican warrior.

The dart or javelin ("*tlacochtli*," "*tlatzontectli*") was the main weapon of the Mexicans.[34] It consisted of a short spear made of hard and elastic canewood ("*otlatl*"), whose point, shaped after the manner of the well known arrow-head, was mostly of flint, of obsidian, and perhaps, occasionally, of copper. This point or head was inserted into the stem or rod through a slit at its end, gummed in, and fastened besides by a strong thread wound around it.[35] The javelin sometimes had two or three branches with points, so as to strike several wounds at once,[36] the warrior often had it tied to his arm by a long cord, but sometimes, also, he carried a number of darts loose.[37]

49.) Bernal-Diez says that "mayordomos" had control of the "houses of arms." (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia, II.) At their head was the "Petlacalcatl." "or man of the house of chests," from "petlacalli," chest or box made out of canes. Bernal-Diez mentions that functionary, but says they called him Tapia, his Indian title he does not remember (Cap. XCI). Each tribe subject to Mexico had a "calpixqui" residing among it.

[33] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXV, p. 35, and LXX, p. 119).

[34] Tezozomoc never mentions the bow and arrow, but always "varas tostadas," "varas arrojadiças," "tlatzontectli." Rods hardened by fire were used *once* by the Mexicans, at the time of their most abject misery, when fighting for the Culhua against Xochimilco (Clavigero, lib. II, cap. XVI). Even the poor aborigines of the Lucayos (Bahamas) used points of fish-bone, and not simply hardened points of wood. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[35] Gomara ("Conquista," p. 345. Vedia, vol. I).

[36] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[37] It would be difficult, otherwise, to account for the number of darts "spent" in the engagements, had each warrior carried but one javelin. Torquemada (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 43) mentions a sort of cross-bow (ballesta), which he calls "atlatl," by the means of which they are said to have sped their darts ("que tiraban con cierto artificio, que llamaron Atlatl"). "Atlatl," however, means a strap ("amiento") fastening the helmet around the chin. Mendieta says: "Al principio jugaban de hondas y varas "como dardos que sacaban con jugaderas y las tiraban muy recias." "Jugadera" means a shuttle. In his note to Durán (Cap. IV, p. 31), "inventando aquel modo de ar- "mas y varas arrojadizas que llamamos fisgas." Señor Ramirez says "Refiérese pro- "bablemente al arma Mexicana llamada Atlatl, especie de ballesta, que segun la tradi- "cion fué inventada en Tacubaya . . . ." "Fisga" is a trident or harpoon. The use of the cross-bow, therefore, by the Mexicans, as the term "ballesta" implies, while

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Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in conflict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines.

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of*, *settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[181] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 465). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in these fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezozomoc.

[181] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la Salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an"cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebelin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. 228. "El primor rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

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area of the settlement thus enclosed, forming a terrace or platform, or whether it merely constituted a *belt around it.* As principal means of *protection*, they resorted to *elevation.*[182]

The pueblo of "Quauhquechollan (now Huacachula, in the State of La Puebla), lying to the South-east of Mexico, and tributary to the Mexicans in 1520, was considered very strong, and Cortés has left us the following description of its natural as well as of its artificial defenses:—

"This town of Guacachula lies on a plane, protected on one "side by a high and steep hilly range, and on two sides by two "rivers, distant from each other about two cross-bow shots. Both "rivers run in deep and precipitous gorges; there are, conse- "quently, but few places where an entrance could be effected, "and even these are of difficult access, steep of descent and of "ascent, on horseback. The place is surrounded by a strong "wall of line and stone, outside of the city as high as four fath- "oms, and almost level with the ground inside. A parapet one- "half fathom in height runs along the top of this wall. For to "sally there are four entrances wide enough for a horse-man to "pass through; at each entrance there are three or four folds of "the enclosure entering one into the other; on each fold of the "wall a corresponding breastwork. Along the entire enclosure "they have heaps of stones and pebbles, with which they fight."[183]

This idéa of constructing the pueblos on a mountain declivity, so as to be compelled to artificially protect *but one or two sides alone*, we find in several instances. The place of Chamula in the present State of Chiapas, when attacked by the Spaniards under

[182] Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España." Trat. III. Cap. XVI. p. 229), speaking of Tlaxcallan: "Their reason for building in high places was that in "order to feel more safe during their frequent wars, they looked to high and open "places, where they might sleep with less anxiety, since they had neither doors nor "walled enclosures, although they had entrenchments and fortifications ('albarradas "y reparos') in some places, they being sure of war to occur every year." The Mexican name for tribe, or settlement, or pueblo, "altepetl," itself indicates an elevated object, the word "tepetl" signifying "mountain" or "hill."

[183] "Carta Segunda (Vedia I. p. 50); also, Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXXII. p. 143), and several others. Clavigero (Lib. IX. cap. XXVIII) says that the walls of Quauhquechollan were fully 20 feet high, 12 feet wide, and had a parapet of 3 feet in elevation. The fathom: "Estado," "Braza," or "toesa," is equal to 2 "varas," or to 6 Castilian feet. According to this the wall would have been about 6.68–100 metres above the outer surface, or 22 feet, English. The text of Cortés reads: "tan alto como cuatro "estados por de fuera de la ciudad, e' *por de dentro esta' casi igual con el suelo.*" This would indicate that the "wall" was rather a *facing* of stone to a *large terrace*, upon which the pueblo itself had been erected.

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T 712

Diego Godoy, in 1524, was situated on a high and steep hill or ridge, surrounded by a gorge. The ascent was very difficult, and when the Spaniards had reached a certain height they met a palisade of timbers set crosswise into the ground, and tied together. Higher up there was a wall two fathoms high and four feet wide, of earth and stone, with some posts. In the most rugged corner there was a ladder leading upwards. The wall was surmounted by a guard of strong planking held between timbers set both within and without. Besides, vines of great thickness, and ropes, were fastened to the planks.[184]

A 712

In some cases, several tiers of enclosures or platforms, one above the other and surmounted by parapets, covered one side of a mountain-declivity. The dwellings of the people rested on the highest terrace, within the uppermost circumvallation, but huts or bowers sheltering the warriors were erected even on the outermost defenses. Such appears to have been the condition of Quetzaltepec,[185] before it was captured under the last Montezuma,

[184] Chamula, or "Chambó," according to the late Mr. Brasseur ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 33, Note No. 10) is still the most populous place of the State of Chiapas, and lies about three leagues to the N. W. of San Cristobal. Its inhabitants speak the "Zotzil" language. They were never conquered, perhaps not even attacked, by the Mexicans. The description of its fortifications is from the "Relacion hecha por "Diego Godoy a' Hernando Cortés" (Vedia I, p. 406). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI) and Herrera (Dec. III, lib. V, cap. VIII, p. 163) mention it also. We meet here with a plain description of earthen or stone embankments surmounted by *guards of wood*. This may throw some light on some of the circumvallations found in the United States, and ascribed to the "mound-builders." (A still more detailed description, of a similarly fortified place, is given by Cortés himself in his fifth letter. 3 Sept., 1526. (Vedia, I, p. 128). Compare "Hist. de la Conq. y Reduccion de los Itzaes." Lib. I. cap. VII. p. 41).

[185] For a description of Quetzaltepec ("Mountain of brilliant or changing green "hue") see Tezozomoc (Cap. XC, pp. 138 and 139), and especially Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 443): "porque Tototepec, demas de tener el rio grande por amparo, hiço hacer cinco "cercas las mas fuertes que pudo, todas de piedra y tierra muy apisonada y de maderas "grandes y de todo género de fagina. Acauadas estas cercas, que la que cercana el "pueblo era de seis braças en alto y de quatro en ancho, siendo los demas que se les "iban siguiendo de a' quatro y de cinco en alto, ..." Although Durán uses the expression "cerca" (enclosure), there is little doubt but that they were but *platforms*, surmounted by stone or wooden parapets. Tezozomoc (Cap. XC), while speaking of six works ("albarrada," or "paredon"), distinctly mentions that there were huts or houses on them ("Luego mandó poner fuego á la segunda albarrada, que tenian *encima* "mucha caseria de buhios, . . ." "El primer paredon era de cinco braças de ancho, "y de tres de altura, y mucha peña encima; la segunda, tercera y quarta al proprie "tenor, excepto la sesta que era de doe brazas de altura y de seis brazas de ancho, *muchos* "*buhios encima, xacales, y mucha gente*," p. 138). We are forcibly reminded here of the hill of Sacsa-huaman, at Cuzco, in Peru, whose defenses consist, according to the Hon. E. G. Squier: "of three lines of massive walls, each supporting a terrace and a parapet. "The walls are nearly parallel, and have approximately accurate entering and reënter- "ing angles for their total existing length of 1,800 feet. The first or outer wall has an "average present height of 27 feet; the second wall is 35 feet within it, and is 18 feet high;

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and it is not improbable that the celebrated "pyramid of Xochicalco" may yet prove to have been a fortified pueblo, analogous to or of the type just described.[186]

"the third is 18 feet within the second, and is, in its highest part, 14 feet in elevation. The "total elevation of the works is therefore 50 feet." According to the descriptions of Tezozomoc and Durán the fortifications of Quetxaltepec were very similar to, only perhaps more extensive, even, than those of the Yuca stronghold, at Cuzco. In the art of fortification, however, the Yuca of Peru were far in advance of the other American aborigines. Nowhere else, on this continent, do we find anything near alike to Ollantay-tambo, Pisac, or Piquillacta. Mexican fortified pueblos were probably analogous to the "pucara" or strongholds of the Aymara Indians on the Bolivian high-plateau. (See E. G. Squier: "Peru, Incid. of Travel and Explor. in the land of the Incas," New York, 1877.)

172 [186] "Xochicalco." the "place of the house of flowers" ("xochitl," flower, — "calli." house). is situated near Temisco, S. E. of Cuernavaca (the ancient "Quauhnahuac"), in the State of Mexico proper. The pyramid was probably first described by Don Joseph Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, Mexico, 1791. "Descripcion de las Antiquidades de "Xochicalco." Robertson (Note XXXIX, to p. 139, of vol. III) describes a pyramid: "a "temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco.' The most complete descriptions, however, are those of Pietro Marquez ("Due antichi monumenti di archi-"tettura Messicana," Roma, 1804); of Baron A. von Humboldt ("Vues des Cordilléres "et Monuments des peuples indigénes de l'Amérique," pp. 129 to 137 of the Edition 8vo "of 1816, vol. I, and plate No. IX of the Atlas in folio); of Nebel; of E. Tylor ("Anahuac"). and of Brantz-Mayer ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1847). Lord Kingsborough has of course furnished splendid illustrations of the monument, in vol. IV of the "Antiquities of Mexico," and a description by Capt. Dupaix, in vol. VI, p. 430. Also has Mr. H. H. Bancroft, with the usual faithfulness to his sources, characteristic of this eminent compilator. We quote from Brantz-Mayer (p. 178): "From this eminence the guide . . . . pointed out to me a small mountain, at the "extremity of the plain in front, on which was situated the Pyramid of Xochicalco, "the subject of our day's explorations. The *cerro* appears to rise directly out of the "levels between two mountains, and the plain continuing to its very foot, might seem-"ingly be traversed in half an hour." But this intervening space was cut up by deep gullies (barrancas), making the trip to the hill very tedious, difficult, and lengthy. The author's general description of the eminence is as follows (pp. 180 and 181): "At the "distance of six leagues from the city of Cuernevaca, lies a cerro, three hundred feet "in height, which, with the ruins that crown it, is known by the name of Xochicalco, "or 'the Hill of Flowers.' The base of this eminence is surrounded by the very dis-"tinct remains of a deep and wide ditch; its summit is attained by five spiral terraces; "the walls that support them are built of stone, joined by cement, and are still quite "perfect; and, at regular distances, as if to buttress these terraces, there are remains "of bulwarks shaped like the bastions of a fortification. The summit of the hill is a "wide esplanade, on the eastern side of which are still perceptible three truncated "cones, resembling the tumuli found among many similar ruins in Mexico. On the "other sides there are also large heaps of stones of irregular shape, which seem to "have formed portions of similar mounds or tumuli, or, perhaps, parts of fortifications "in connection with the wall that is alleged by the old writers to have surrounded the "base of the pyramid, but of which I could discern no traces." On the top of this esplanade there seems to have been an edifice of five terraces (as Alzate relates), or stories, but only the lowest one is yet in existence. Nebel has given an ideal reconstruction of this building ("Viaje pintoresco y arqueologico a' la Republica de Mexico"), also Alzate. Closing his investigation of the ornaments and sculptures still visible in the ruins of the summit, Brantz-Mayer remarks: "The day was far advanced when I "stood for the last time on the corner-stone of the upper terrace and looked at the "beautiful prospect around me. It was the centre of a mighty plain. Running due "north were the remains of an ancient paved road, leading over prairie and barranca

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But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were 000

"to the city (Quauhnahuac) distinctly visible at the foot of the Sierra Madre" (p. 187). 172
Baron Humboldt gives the measurements as follows: Height of the hill from its base, 117 *mètres* (about 380 *feet*), divided into five tiers. Each tier is about 20 mètres high. Circumference of the hill-base about 4,000 mètres (13,000 feet). Summit platform 72 mètres long, from N. to S., and 36 m. from E. to W. The wall once enclosing this platform was about 2 m. in height. Base of the top-edifice, 20 m. 7' by 17 m. 4'. On the north side there are a number of excavations in the rocks, artificial caverns, whose openings Brantz-Mayer found "at the foot of the first terrace on the northern side of "the hill." These excavations *are said* to have been visited in 1823.

Baron v. Humboldt concludes: "Le fossé dont la colline est entourée, le revêtement "des assises, le grand nombre d'appartemens souterrains creusés dans le roc du coté "du nord, le mur qui dèfend l'approche de la plate-forme, tout concourt à donner au "monument de Xochicalco le caractère d'un monument militaire. Les naturels desig-"nent même encore aujourd'hui les ruines de la pyramide qui s'élevait au milieu de la "plate-forme, par un nom qui équivaut a'-celui de château fort ou de citadelle. La "grande analogie de forme que l'on remarque entre cette prétendue citadelle et les mai-"sons des dieux azteques (teocallis), me fait soupçonner que la colline de Xochicalco "n'était autre chose qu'un temple fortifié" (p. 134, vol. I of ed. 8vo).

E. B. Tylor ("Anahuac," Cap. VII, p. 186), speaking of Xochicalco, says: "It was "a fortified hill of great strength." Humboldt makes of it: "a fortified temple." But the hill is too high and too large for such a purpose alone. Besides, the rooms excavated in the rock, analogous to the "cliff-houses" of Arizona, the road leading originally towards Quauhnahuac, the central position of the hill itself;—all tends to indicate that "Xochicalco" was once a *pueblo, fortified after the principles prevailing among the aborigines*, and whose inhabitants dwelt partly in the rock, partly on the tiers or on the esplanade into which the summit had been levelled. The "teocalli," or temple, occupied the hill-top, being there as well in the *centre of the population* as in *any pueblo* situated on the *level of the plain*. The five tiers or terraces were probably lined with wooden parapets, long since decayed, and only the uppermost platform had a stone enclosure.

Another pyramidal structure, found by Capt. Gul. Dupaix, near Old Tepexe, in Tehuantepec, is represented on Plate I, part III, vol. IV, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico." It is composed of eight stories or tiers. Capt. Dupaix remarks (Kingsborough, Vol. VI, p. 467): "This wall exhibits a species of fortifications which I "cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent." This structure has more analogy, in its outlines, with the picture given by Clavigero of the great "teo-calli" of Mexico, than any other. The drawing by the learned Abbè is entirely faultive as far as the Mexican temple is concerned, but it is not out of place when applied to a fortified pueblo, occupying an entire hill.

When the Mexicans, previous to their flight into Culhuacan and subsequently into 712
the lagune, were hemmed in on the hill of Chapultepec by the tribes of the valley, they [173]
fortified the hill in the following manner, according to Durán (Cap. III, pp. 27 and 28): Their newly elected war-chief (Huitzilihuitl) directed that "along the entire declivity "of the hill many stone walls should be constructed, arising one above the other like "steps, one fathom in width, thus leaving above a spacious square where all gathered "and fortified themselves, keeping watch diligently day and night, placing the women "and children into the centre of their troop, preparing arrows, macanas, darts, cutting "stones, making slings for their defence." According to this paragraph, the hill of Chapultepec would have presented an appearance, perhaps, not entirely dissimilar to that of Xochicalco, or Tepexe,—terraced, like the "andenes" of Peru. Cervántes-Salazar, whose "Tres Diálogos latinos," or "Mexico, in 1554," have been republished, in 1875, by Sr. Icazbalceta (to whose great kindness I take occasion to offer a humble tribute of gratitude), seems to allude to remains of this original grading in his 3d dialogue, when Alfaro (one of his personages) inquires (p. 277): "Para que son estas gra-"das tan anchas y largas, que llegan hasta arriba, y rodean casi todo el cerro?" Fur-

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361 But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were open places, without circumvallations or enclosures,[187] constructed after the plan which we have already exposed,[188] and without any other strongholds than their massive communal dwellings, and the 361 pyramidal temple, or "teo-calli."[189] On the flat roofs of the former 712 heaps of stones could be collected and hurled down upon the enemy from behind a guard of planks or adobe running along the edge of the roof.[190] The truncated pyramid, on its graded ascent, afforded room for a number of combatants.[191] Both gave the re-

[712] ther on he says: "Como se va adelgazando el cerro hasta la eremita," and "Zuazo" makes the very characteristic reply: "Asi vino bien para que se pudiera ver todo lo "que esta' abajo." (As a military position would indeed require.) In the Introduction to this Dialogue (p. 256), the learned Mexican scholar remarks: "Parece que estas al-"barradas o' escalones se conservaron hasta despues de la conquista, y que los emper-"adores Aztecas los habian llenado de tierra, convirtiéndolos en jardines, por no tener "ya objeto como obras de fortificacion."

[187] The letter written by "Fray Francisco de Bologna," from Mexico, to the provincial of Bologna, published in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil "de piéces, etc.") says: "Généralement leurs villes n'étaient pas fermées, mais les es-"pagnols leur ont appris à les entourer de murailles" (p. 212). The Mexican tongue distinguishes "altepetl," a pueblo (or tribe), from "tename-altepetl," a pueblo surrounded by a wall ("tenamitl" "muro," walled enclosure). The Quiche-language of Guatemala has adopted the Nahuatl word "tenamitl," changing it into "tinamit," to signify a tribe or place.

[188] Motolinia ("Hist. de los Ind. de N. España," "Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 63-65.

[189] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229. Id. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXVI).

[190] When the Spaniards entered Cholula they soon found out, according to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 20) and Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. LXIII, p. 75), "that "the roofs were covered with pebbles and lined with guards of adobe." The Tlaxcallans had previously warned Cortés about Cholula, saying (p. 19 "Carta Segunda,"): "y "que tenian muchas de la calles tapiadas, y por las azoteas de las casas muchas pie-"dras, para que despues que entrásemos en la ciudad tomarnos seguramente y aprove-"charse de nosotros á su voluntad." They also warned him about Mexico, saying: "that all the roofs were flat, with guards like breastworks, so that they might fight "from the house-tops" (Bernal-Diez, cap. LXXVIII). During the street fights previous to the retreat of Cortés on July 1st, 1520, and also during the gradual capture of Mexico, the Mexicans fought desperately from the roofs, hurling stones, rocks and pebbles upon the assailants. See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 41, 42 and 43; "Carta "Tercera, pp. 74, 76, 84, 86). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CXXVI, pp. 130, 131; cap. CLI, p. 183). I refrain from quoting later writers, who copied mostly from the eye-witnesses' reports, and merely add the words of Fray Toribio de Parédes (Motolinia), in his History, written about 1540. ("Coll. de Doc.," I, trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187 "Estaba "Mexico muy fuerte y bien ordenada, ... Tenia por fortaleza los templos del "demonio y las casas de Motecuzoma, señor principal, y las de los otros señores."

[191] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 42): "Y es la torre muy alta y mas principal della se "subieron fasta quinientos Indios, que segun me parécio, eran personas muy princi-"pales. Y en ella subieron mucho mantenimiento de pan y agua y otras cosas de comer-"y muchas piedras; é todos los mas tenian lanças muy largas con unos hierros de pe-"dernal mas anchos que las de las nuestras, y no menos agudos; è de alli hacian mucho "daño a' la gente de la fortaleza, porque estaba muy cerca della. La cual dicha torre "combatieron los españoles dos a' tres veces y la acometieron a' subir; y como era muy "alta y tenia la subida agra, porque tiene ciento y tantos escalones; y los de arriba es,

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source of fighting *under shelter from above*, while the assailant had to struggle *unprotected from below*. As against an *Indian* foe, these massive constructions were *indeed strongholds*, and even, as we shall hereafter see, they opposed strong obstacles to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, as often as it was possible, the aborigines added to the defensive means of their architecture the resource of a *strong natural position*, and *those* tribes proved to be most *powerful* and *aggressive*, whose *defensive* position was either naturally or artificially, or in both respects, *the least vulnerable*.[192]

We have already mentioned the pueblo of Mexico as one of the strongest positions ever occupied by Indians up to the sixteenth century. Still, it was an open place, without circumvallations or

"taban bien pertrechados de piedra y otras armas, ..." Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXVI, p. 131). The latter, in the very "likely" style of the "Historia Verdadera" (?) mentions 4.000 men as having occupied "*one* teocalli." Cortés is more modest and certainly nearer the truth. See, also, Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187. "Tenia por fortaleza los templos del demonio"). When the Mexicans conquered Tlatilulco, the principal stronghold of the Tlatilulcans was their *temple*. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XLV, p. 74). Durán (Cap. XXXIV, p. 268: "el rey subió a' lo alto del templo con "otros caualleros suyos aunque con mucho trabajo por la mucha resistencia que halló"). We again refer to what has already been stated: that the temple being the highest, and therefore strongest, part of the pueblo, its capture or destruction was the signal of victory.

[192] The tribes of Chiapas were much feared on account of their ferocity, and of their naturally and artificially strong places. Compare Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI. p. 225, "porque ciertamente eran en aquel tiempo los mayores guerreros que yo habia visto "en toda la Nueva-España"). Cachula, Chiapas, and Chamula, were all naturally and by art well fortified. We have already alluded to Atitlan, in Guatimala (Report of Alvarado, Vedia I, p. 400. Bernal-Diez, Vedia II, cap. CLXIV, p. 221: "y que eran "muy malos y de malas condiciones"). Tlaxcallan itself enjoyed a very strong defensive position, although the place was open and not enclosed. Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229: "El señor mas antiguo y que primero lo fundó, edificó en un cerro "jon alto, que se llama Tepeticpac, que quiere decir encima de sierra"). Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18: "porque es muy mayor que Granada y muy mas fuerte"). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XII, p. 265). Gomara ("De Tlaxcallan," Vedia I, p. 333), etc., etc. Utlatlan, or rather "Gumarcaah," the QQuiché pueblo of Guatemala, of which Fuentes especially has made the capital of a vast "empire of Quiché," was a very strongly situated place. (See Stevens' "Travels in Central America, Yucatan, and Chiapas.") The village of Santa Cruz del QQuiche now stands in the vicinity. Alvarado, its conqueror, reports (Vedia I, p. 456): "as the city is most remarkably strong, and has not more "than two entrances, one by thirty and some, high steps of stone, and the other by a "dyke made by hand." The Abbé Brasseur describes it as follows ("Popol-Vuh," cap. IX, pp. 312 and 313, foot-note): "Utatlan or Gumarcaah was composed of three distinct "plateaux, surrounded by ravines communicating however by paths (or roads) flanked "by cut stones . . . . There was but one entrance to this great town, the same "by which it is now reached. (The QQuiché text says: "where the town with its ra"vines was built of stone and lime and covered with cement.") Thus we have the principal pueblos of Middle America all established in strong defensive places, for Mexico, as we have already said, was perhaps the least vulnerable of all, and also the one which occupied the most prominent position.

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walled enclosures.[193] But it was surrounded by *water* on all sides. This was a *natural* protection, *apparently*. However, the lake around Mexico was the work of the Mexicans themselves, and deserves, as such, to be regarded as an evidence of no ordinary skill on their part. When they fled into the space subsequently transformed into a lagune, it was an extensive swamp, covered with canebrake. Many parts of it could be waded through with ease, at some places the streams emptying into it from the West filtered through the deeper channels into Lake Tezcuco. Flakes of turf or of sand occasionally protruded over the surface, and on one of these dry spots the Mexicans huddled together for existence.[194] Unmolested on account of their extreme weakness, they could extend this area of dry soil by additions of sod, by scanty artificial foundations of turf thrown into the shallow morass and, erecting upon it their frail dwellings, they lived in poverty until they found out the great advantage which this isolated position gave to them over the surrounding tribes. They realized that, while *they* might sally forth with impunity, having a safe retreat behind them, an attack upon *their* position was both difficult and dangerous for the assailant. Once *their* first attempt crowned with success they continued and, valuing their situation as the main element of strength, they improved the foothold on the mainland by compelling subjected tribes to build for them a causeway, running from the outlet of Lake Xochimilco northward, to the pueblo of Mexico.[195] This dyke, while it insured communication with the mainland, penned up the waters flowing into the swamp from the west-side, and *accumulated* them there.[196] On

[193] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). When the Tlaxcallans represented to Cortés the dangers to which he exposed himself by going to Mexico, they did not mention fortifications (Bernal-Diez, LXXVIII, p. 70), but simply how the place was surrounded by water, the strength of the houses, and their difficult access.

[194] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 5). Durán ("Hist. de las Yndias de Nueva España," Cap. IV, pp. 36 and 37) is very explicit: "y pasados por la otra parte del rio (the outlet of "Lake Xochimilco) metieronse en los carriçales y tulares de la laguna." "Deste lugar "vinieron buscando y mirando si allarian algun lugar que fuese acomodado para po "der hacer asiento, y andando desta manera por unas partes y otras entre las espa "dañas y carriçales, allaron un ojo de agua hermosissimo." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X and cap. XI, p. 92).

[195] Durán (Cap. XII, p. 112): "pues vuelto a' los de Xochimilco les mandó que luego, "sin mas tardar, mandasen a' todos los de la ciudad hiciesen una calçada de tres bra "ças en ancho desde su pueblo hasta la ciudad de Mexico, de piedra y tierra, cegas "en el agua quel termino desta calçada tomase, y hiciesen sus puentes á trechos para "que el agua tuviese por donde salir de una parte a' otra." (Also, Cap. XIII, p. 113.)

[196] We must remember that the level of the "plaza mayor" of Mexico was, towards the beginning of this century, but one "*vara*" (of three Castilian feet), one foot and

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the other hand, the fresh water emptying out of Lake Xochimilco was thrown to the east side of the dyke into Lake Tezcuco. By this simple contrivance the Mexicans surrounded their pueblo with a huge pond on all sides, isolating, or rather *fortifying* it beyond all conceivable means of Indian assault.[197] *The causeways leading to Mexico were, therefore, military constructions.*[198] Subsequently the dyke was continued to the north until where Guadalupe Hidalgo now stands (anciently Tepeyacac), thus closing up the western basin completely, and another causeway, running east and west was constructed to Tacuba. From the southern dyke a branch ran to Cuyuacan, starting at Xoloc and extending to the southwest. In order to insure free circulation of the waters, sluices were cut, which interrupted the causeways at several places. Wooden bridges, easily removable, were laid across these ditches. Thus Mexico needed no outer fortifications nor walled enclosures.[199]

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one inch higher than the level of Lake Tezcuco. This elevation was purely artificial (Humboldt, "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Paris, 1827. Vol. II, pp. 96, 97 and 98). After the causeways running north and south had been constructed, the waters emptying into the swamp from the west side could not any longer run freely into the salt-water basin of Tezcuco. They were actually kept around the pueblo, and the swamp thus changed into a lagune. That those sources were powerful enough for such a purpose is amply shown by the great inundation which their careless opening occasioned under Ahuitzotl, in 1498 ("Essai politique," Vol. II, p. 101), of which the old authors bear ample testimony. (Durán, Cap. XLVIII and XLIX.) (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXX.) (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. LXVI.) (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXVII, pp. 122 and 123.)

[197] The levels of Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco are 1 vara 11 inches higher than the "plaza mayor" of Mexico. Their outlet is to the northwest, between Churubusco and Iztapalapan. Previously, when Mexico was surrounded by water, this outlet was between Mexicalzinco and Churubusco (then called "Huitzilopochco"). At Churubusco the great causeway began, and the waters emptying out of Lake Xochimilco flowed along its right hand side into Lake Tezcuco. The causeways thus increased the effects of natural drainage upon the central basin. It was certainly a very primitive but very effective work on the part of the Mexicans. We find a parallel to it, at a comparatively recent date, in Bolivia. When Andrés Tupac Amaru, the son of the unfortunate José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was blockading Sorata, in 1782, he could not, without artillery, hope to succeed against the well fortified town. Therefore, by a system of circumvallation, he enclosed the town with the waters of the Sierra, which finally destroyed the earthworks, leaving the entrance free to the infuriated Indians. 22,000 whites perished in the massacre ensuing.

[198] It is to the Hon. L. H. Morgan that we owe the first intimation in regard to the true character and purpose of these causeways. They were not merely for the purpose of insuring communication with the mainland, but especially for the defence of Mexico. Without them the area extending between the pueblo and the western shore would, at best, have remained a swamp, or would have become, as it now is, dry land. In both cases the defensive power of the Mexicans was at an end, and the course of events in Mexico would have turned quite differently.

[199] Mention is made of a fortification of some kind at "Xoloc," where the branch dyke from Cuyuacan joined the main causeway. (This must have been in the neighborhood of San Antonio.)

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An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops, and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, advancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1850. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

conceive why the captain "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" should *not* be one of the privileged four, it is easy to understand why the "man of the black house" should be of that number. The dark house, "Casa Lobrega" of Nuñez de la Vega, in Chiapas, plays a conspicuous part in the worship, or "medicine" of the aborigines of Mexico and Central America.[284] The "man of the black, or dark house," was therefore an intermediate between "medicine" and tribal government. As such, he appears to occupy a stage preparatory to the high office of "chief of men," and represents, together with the "satraps and papaoaqui" named by Sahagun,[285] the element of medicine or worship in the election of that officer. "Tlilancalqui" is occasionally, though rarely, mentioned as a war-chief,[286] but missions of importance appear to have been intrusted to him; and Joseph de Acosta calls the three other chiefs "warriors,"[287] to his exclusion: and finally, he is made a confidential advisor in times of great public danger. This is about all we know of this office, in relation to the government of the Mexican tribe.

The fact, amply proven as it is, that the "chief of men" had to be selected from among the four chiefs and officers enumerated, bears directly on the nature of the dignity with which the "Tlacatecuhtli" was invested. It fully disposes of the assumptions, that this officer was anything but an Indian war-chief of the highest order, or that heredity was attached to the office, though it does not disprove succession of office limited to any single *kin*. While it thus explains many incidental features of organization and government, it leads us back to the office of "chief of men" and through it, recalls some of the fundamental attributes of the tribe.

[284] *J. H. von Minutoli* ("*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala*," etc., "*Teatro Critico Americano*," by *Feliz Cabrera*, German translation, p. 31): "house of darkness which he (Votan) had built in the space of a few respirations." But the dark house is yet more positively noticed in Guatemala. *Popol Vuh* (Part II. chap. II, p. 85): "Gekuma Ha," from "Gek" black. "*Grammaire QQuiché*" (p. 180). Also (Chap. VIII, p. 147, cap. IX, pp. 148 and 149). It is interesting to notice, in connection with this, that the same gathering of aboriginal traditions also mentions (p. 81) a house filled with lances (darts): "R'oo chicut Chayim-ha u bi, utuquel chakol chupam zaklelohre chi cha, chi tziniric, chi yohohic, chiri pa ha." (Cap. IX, p. 154): "qate chicut ta x-e oc chi qaholab pa Chaim-ha." This corresponds with the Mexican "Tlacochicalcatl." Again we are treated (p. 85) to a "house of tigers" also repeated (p. 154), and it is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the "Tlacatecatl." Thus again the analogy between the Guatemaltecans and the Mexicans, appears sustained to some extent.

[285] "*Historia general*," etc. (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[286] By *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are superfluous. See his "*Crónica*."

[287] "*Historia natural y moral de Indias*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).